SOURCES ��� Meqabyan Translation Project (v2)

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May 2026

SOURCES INDEX — Meqabyan Translation Project

Companion document to `translation_continuation.md`. Catalogs every scholarly claim in the translation file with its source provenance and verification status. Intended for use by Claude Code or human editors to route claims to the right place in downstream products (EPUB, study Bible, etc.).

Honesty notice: This index was produced *after* the translation file was largely complete, in a post-hoc audit conducted across multiple sessions. The translation file was originally written across multiple earlier sessions with varying levels of source rigor. Some attributions were correct, some were inverted, some were speculative readings presented in objective tone, and a few specific patristic section numbers were misremembered. The status tags below tell you which is which after the audit.

See also: `CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md` for the full 64-citation third-pass audit verdict matrix, and `TIER2_AUDIT.md` for the library-source verification pass.

Version 2 (May 2026): incorporates the Tier-2 audit. Changes from v1: Wright 1877 upgraded to fully-verified-by-direct-reading with corrected Horovitz cross-references and two independent corroboration findings (§1.6); the "Cowley 1971" *JES* article corrected to its true date, 1974 (§1.3); the Andəmta Psalter commentary and Senkessar desiderata refined (§7 and below). The translation text itself is unchanged from v1 — all v2 edits are to this index and the appendix only.

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1. PRIMARY SCHOLARLY SOURCES

1.1 Horovitz 1905 — the foundational Western study [✓] VERIFIED via direct OCR of the PDF

Horovitz, J. 1905. "Das äthiopische Maccabäerbuch." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete*, ed. Carl Bezold, Band XIX, pp. 194–233. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner.

- **Copyright status:** Public domain in all jurisdictions (pre-1929 US; author d. 1931, EU/CA).
- **Physical file:** `/home/claude/geez/horovitz_1905_zeitschrift_fur_assyriologie_xix_194-233.pdf` (also re-uploaded as `m1.pdf` in `/mnt/user-data/uploads/m1.zip`).
- **National Library of Israel** offprint, call number S 22 B 6958 C.1.

Key findings cited or attributable to Horovitz (verified by OCR of the PDF):

Horovitz page	Finding	Verbatim German (where critical)
p. 194	Working from Frankfurt Codex Rüppel II 7; also collated British Museum MSS (Wright's *Catalogue*)	(citation in body and fn. 3)
p. 195	**Five Maccabean martyrs**: "Abija, Silä und Phentos" named, plus "zwei namenlose maccabäische Brüder" (two unnamed brothers)	"Als maccabäische Helden und Märtyrer treten zunächst nur Abija, Silä und Phentos auf… Ausser diesen erscheinen im ersten Teil noch zwei namenlose maccabäische Brüder und alle fünf erleiden unter dem grausamen König Sirusaidan (= Tyrus + Sidon) den Märtyrertod."
p. 195	**Per Hiob Ludolf**, Abija and Silä are saints of the Ethiopian calendar	"Die Namen der beiden ersten sind auch sonst im Heiligenkalender vertreten (nach Hios Ludolf sind es die Heiligen des 21. und 30. Januar)" — **v2 note:** the dates are almost certainly Ethiopian-calendar **Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30** (≈ 29 Jan / 7 Feb Gregorian), Ludolf having given the Geʿez month-name. Final confirmation pending a direct read of Budge, *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, vol. 2 (public domain, archive.org), entries Ṭər 21 / Ṭər 30 — source located, route precise; see `TIER2_AUDIT.md`.
p. 195	**Two-section MS structure**: Frankfurt Rüppel II 7 has only two physically-marked sections, though colophons claim three	"In der Frankfurter Handschrift habe ich allerdings nur zwei auch ausserlich voneinander getrennte Abschnitte gefunden."
p. 195 fn. 3	**The "Ṣiruṣaydan = Tyrus + Sidon" etymology is Dillmann's**, not Horovitz's. Horovitz endorses Dillmann's prior identification.	"So schon Dillmann l.c." (= "Already so [proposed by] Dillmann, loc. cit.")

Horovitz page	Finding	Verbatim German (where critical)
p. 195	**The second section's protagonists**: Maqäbis (Moabite ancestral father of the Maccabees) and his sons Makabjos, Maqäbjos, Jehuda; Mattathias named elsewhere	"Erst später ist von Maqäbis die Rede, dem moabitischen Stammvater der Maccabäer, und von seinen Söhnen Makabjos, Maqäbjos und Jehuda und an einer anderen Stelle wird auch Mattathias genannt."
p. 195	**Date of composition undetermined**: "Alle Handschriften sind jung (18. Jahrhundert); die Entste-hungszeit des Buches konnte ich nicht bestimmen."	direct quote
p. 195	**Central concern: resurrection of the dead**; the book combats Sadducees, Pharisees, Samaritans	"Das, worauf es dem Verfasser aber vor allem ankommt, ist, die Auferstehung der Toten zu beweisen…"
p. 196	**No mention of Christ anywhere**: "von Christus nirgends die Rede" — Horovitz reads it as a deliberately OT-framed Jewish composition	direct quote

Horovitz page	Finding	Verbatim German (where critical)
p. 196 fn. 1	Possible source: Matthew + the **Zena Ayhud** (Geʿez Josippon) — **note: OCR of Horovitz showed "Zena Arkud" which is to be corrected to Zena Ayhud per standard Ethiopian Studies usage**; the standard study is M. Kamil's edition	"Vielleicht hat der Verfasser ausser Matthäus hier auch das Zena Ayhud als Quelle benutzt."
p. 226	**Explicit boundary between First and Second Parts**	"So schliesst der erste Teil; der zweite beginnt:" — followed by the Geʿez incipit "በእነተ ፡ ዘረከበሙ ፡ መቃቢስ ፡ ለኢይሁድ ፡ በመስጌጦምያ ፡ ዘሶርያ" — corresponds to the opening of modern **2 Meqabyan ch. 1**.
p. 225	Pagan pantheon catalog (Apollon, Artemis, Serapion) and geographic catalog (Cyprus, Samaria, Damascus, Babylon, Arabia, India, Söbä, Nöbä, Egypt, Aethiopia) confirmed in the Frankfurt MS — matches our 1 Mq 36:29 and 1 Mq 21 / 2 Mq 8 catalogs	OCR-verified

1.2 Cowley 1974 [✓] VERIFIED via the academic record

Cowley, R. W. 1974. "The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today." *Ostkirchliche Studien* 23: 318–323.

- **Copyright status:** Under copyright; widely cited in the academic literature.
- **What Cowley actually says about Meqabyan** (verified via Wanger 2011 thesis, Asale 2016 SAGE Journal, islamicawareness.org reproduction, multiple Wikipedia bibliography entries):

  - **1 Maccabees, 36 chapters**: "wicked idol-worshipping king of Media and Midian called Tsirutsaydan. A Benjaminite called Meqabis taught that men should worship the true God, and his 5 sons, Abya, Sila, Fentos, and two others were burnt by Tsirutsaydan."
  - **2 Maccabees, 21 chapters**: "a king of Moab named Meqabis made war against Israel as a punishment on them."
- **Footnote 9** of Cowley reads: "Further particulars of the Ethiopian books of Maccabees will be found in J. Horovitz, 'Das äthiopische Maccabäerbuch', *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Leipzig, XIX, pp. 194–233 and R. Cowley, 'Old Testament Introduction in the Andemta Commentary Tradition', *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*, Addis Ababa, vol. XII no. 1, pp. 133–175, especially p. 144." — i.e., a bibliographic cross-reference. **It does NOT itself contain any substantive distinction.**

1.3 Cowley 1974b [?] PLAUSIBLE (Tier-2 verification target) — *date corrected in v2*

Cowley, R. W. 1974b. "Old Testament Introduction in the Andəmta Commentary Tradition." *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 12, no. 1 (January 1974): 133–175 (esp. p. 144). JSTOR 44324703.

- **Status:** Article verified to exist; bibliographic details confirmed against JSTOR's own catalogue metadata, AfricaBib, Semantic Scholar, and the Ethiopian Hermeneutics bibliography. Direct examination of its Meqabyan content has not been undertaken (JSTOR paywall; no open-access copy located). **Tier-2 audit desideratum:** with JSTOR or library access, go straight to p. 144, the locator Horovitz's fn. 9 specifies. This is the most likely venue for further constraint on Meqabyan dating, structure, and Andəmta-tradition reception.
- **v2 date correction:** earlier project drafts cited this as "Cowley 1971." The Tier-2 audit (see `TIER2_AUDIT.md`) established the article is from **1974**, not 1971 — four independent sources agree, including JSTOR. The "1971" was a conflation with Cowley's *separate* JES article of that year, "Preliminary Notes on the Baläandəm Commentaries," *Journal of Ethiopian Studies* 9, no. 1 (1971): 9–20. It is designated "1974b" here to distinguish it from "1974a" = the *Ostkirchliche Studien* canon article (§1.2 above), both published the same year.
- **Further Cowley secondary literature** (leads, not yet examined): *The Traditional Interpretation of the Apocalypse of Saint John in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1983); *Ethiopian Biblical Interpretation: A Study in Exegetical Tradition and Hermeneutics* (Cambridge University Press, 1988, from his 1985 Cambridge doctoral dissertation). Cowley (d. 1988) bequeathed his copies of the entire Andəmta commentary corpus to the British Library.

1.4 Dillmann [✓] VERIFIED

Dillmann, August. 1865. *Lexicon linguae aethiopicae cum indice latino*. Leipzig: T. O. Weigel.

- **Copyright status:** Public domain.
- **Originator of the Ṣiruṣaydan** = **Tyre** + **Sidon etymology** (per Horovitz p. 195 fn. 3: "So schon Dillmann l.c."). The Seleucid coinage attestation of "Tsur u Tsaydan" in Phoenician under Antiochus IV Epiphanes is the supporting numismatic evidence.

Dillmann, August (ed.). 1853. *Das Christliche Adambuch des Morgenlandes*. Göttingen — the Geʿez *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*, supplemented by Trumpp's Munich 1880 edition and S. C. Malan's 1882 English translation (*The Book of Adam and Eve*). **Added in Round 3** as the proximate Geʿez recipient of the Adam-Satan tradition feeding Meqabyan demonology.

1.5 Hiob Ludolf [✓] VERIFIED (cited verbatim by Horovitz p. 195)

Ludolf, Hiob (Job). Foundational 17th-century Ethiopist; *Historia Aethiopica* (1681) and *Commentarius* (1691).

- **Copyright status:** Public domain.
- Source for **Abijā and Silā as saints of the Ethiopian calendar** (Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30 ≈ 29 Jan / 7 Feb Gregorian; cited via Horovitz p. 195 — see §1.1 v2 note and `TIER2_AUDIT.md`).

1.6 Wright 1877 [✓] VERIFIED — *fully examined in v2*

Wright, William. 1877. *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1847*. London: Gilbert & Rivington.

- **Copyright status:** Public domain. Full text on the Internet Archive: `archive.org/details/catalogueofethio0`
- **v2 status:** the full catalogue text was examined directly in the Tier-2 audit (see `TIER2_AUDIT.md`). Previously this entry was marked verified-by-implication; it is now verified by direct reading.
- Wright's catalogue contains **seven manuscripts of the Geʿez Books of Meqabyan**, at shelfmarks **Orient. 487, 489, 491, 502, 504, 505, 506** — all seven match the list our apparatus already carried.
- **Horovitz's footnote-3 cross-references (corrected in v2).** Horovitz 1905 p. 194 fn. 3 cites Wright entries for the Meqabyan witnesses. Our earlier transcription read these as "X 3, XI 9, XV 7/8/9, XXVI 10, XXVIII 4/5, XXX 1, XXXI 2, XXXII 1." Direct checking against Wright shows the corrected list is **X 3, XI 9, XV 7, XXVI 10, XXVIII 5, XXXI 2, XXXII 1** (seven confirmed Geʿez-Meqabyan entries). The items **XV 8–9** and **XXVIII 4** are the *later Geʿez translation of the Vulgate 1–2 Maccabees*, bound in the same volumes — a distinct text, correctly cited by Horovitz because those volumes hold both. The reading **"XXX 1" is dropped**: Wright entry XXX (Orient. 829*, f. 7) is a two-leaf fragment of Micah and Joel with no Maccabees material — almost certainly an OCR artifact in our transcription of Horovitz's footnote, not an error by Horovitz.
- **Independent corroboration 1 — tripartite structure.** Wright entry X (Orient. 487, item 3) describes the work verbatim as **"The Book of Maccabees … in three parts,"** cross-referencing Dillmann (*Lex. Aethiop.*, Prolegg. p. xi) and D'Abbadie (*Catalogue Raisonné* no. 55, items 28–30). This is a third independent witness — alongside Dillmann and EOTC canonical tradition — that the Geʿez Meqabyan was transmitted as a three-part work. It stands in productive, citable tension with Horovitz 1905 p. 195, who found only **two** physically-marked sections in the Frankfurt Codex Rüppel II 7: the British Museum manuscripts presented the work as tripartite; Horovitz's Frankfurt witness did not mark the second/third boundary. This manuscript-level variation directly supports the apparatus's editorial posture (a collection of shared canonical reception, compositionally distinct on critical analysis).
- **Independent corroboration 2 — Meqabyan ≠ Vulgate Maccabees.** Wright's Preface (p. v) explicitly distinguishes "the Ethiopic Book of the Maccabees" (መቃብያን) from "the later translation of first and second Maccabees from the Latin text" — independent corroboration of the single most important framing distinction in the whole project.
- **Independent attestation of the "Liber Adami."** Wright's Preface (p. v) lists "the 'Liber Adami' or History of Adam and Eve" among the catalogued OT apocrypha — the same Geʿez *Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (Dillmann's *Adambuch*) added to the apparatus in Round 3 as the proximate Geʿez recipient of the Adam-Satan tradition behind 3 Mq 1:15.
- Horovitz also cites the Catalogue at fn. 3 of p. 194 for his manuscript count; entry X further cross-references **D'Abbadie, *Catalogue Raisonné de MSS. Éthiopiens* (Paris, 1859), no. 55, items 28–30** as another Meqabyan witness — a precise locator for the "Abbadie MS" of §3.

1.7 Giyorgis of Sägla — Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir [✓] author/work VERIFIED; specific "ten Consciousnesses" parallel [✗] UNSUPPORTED

Giyorgis of Sägla (c. 1364–1 July 1425 CE). Ethiopian Orthodox monk, saint, theologian; the earliest known prose author from sub-Saharan Africa.

The work: *Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir* (መጽሐፈ ምሥጢር, "Book of Mystery"). 30 chapters. Geʿez. Composed early 15th century. Standard critical edition: **Yaqob Beyene**, *Giyorgis di Sagla: Il libro del Mistero (Maṣḥafa Məsṭir)*, CSCO Aeth. 89/90/97/98 (Louvain: Peeters, 1990–1993).

Two distinct 2024 English translations exist — must NOT be conflated: 1. **Abba Hiruie Ermias** (trans.), *The Book of Mystery: Mäṣḥafä Məśṭir of Abba Giyorgis of Gaśəčča (1364–1425)*. Negarit Publisher, 2024. ISBN 978-99990-52-69-6. **Foreword by Alessandro Bausi** (per the IRIS-Sapienza PDF). 2. **Samuel J. Klumpenhouwer** (trans.), *The Book of Mystery of Giyorgis of Sägla*. Haymanot Sankofa Publishing, 2024. Available at bookofmystery.org.

Specific doctrine status: - **“Ten Consciousnesses of Adam” attribution → [✗] UNSUPPORTED.** Direct examination of the 30-chapter structure of the Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir (per Bausi’s *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* entry and both 2024 translations’ chapter indices) reveals no such doctrine; Giyorgis’s verified anthropology is the classical body + (rational/animal) soul dichotomy. The actual Ethiopian decimal symbolism for the ten-stringed harp/psaltery is the **Decalogue**, mediated by the begena (ten-stringed lyre) liturgical tradition. **The footnote at 3 Mq 2:23 has been rewritten** to remove the unsupported Giyorgis attribution and substitute the begena/Decalogue tradition with patristic decimal-Decalogue parallels (Origen *Comm. in Ps.* 33; Augustine *Enarr. in Ps.* 32, 92, 144). - The **Andəmta Psalter commentary tradition** (printed only in Amharic, not digitally searchable) remains the most likely venue for an EOTC ten-fold gloss on Pss 33/92/144 if one exists. Tier-2 audit desideratum. - **Calendar parallel:** Basil Lourié, “An Archaic Jewish-Christian Liturgical Calendar in Abba Giyorgis of Sägla,” *Scrinium* 12.1 (2016), p. 73 ff. — Giyorgis drew on a Jubilees-like calendar in the 26th homily, lending some support to a broader Jubilees/Festal-calendar parallel for Meqabyan.

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2. EXISTING ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS (parallel; not used as sources)

All under copyright; listed for cross-reference, not for quotation.

Translation	Source language	License	Notes
Ras Feqade Selassie, *Ethiopian Books of Meqabyan 1–3 in Standard English* (Lulu.com, 2008; also 2005 Iyaric edition)	Amharic	Copyrighted	Word-for-word from Amharic; full coverage of all three books.
D. P. Curtin & B. Tesfaye, *The First/Second Book of the Ethiopian Maccabees* (Dalcassian Press, 2018/2023)	Amharic	Copyrighted	Books I and II only. Compresses freely.
“tohdee” (anonymous), *The First Book of Meqabyan* (GitHub Pages, October 2025)	Amharic + English	Unclear	Bilingual working translation, chapters 1–5 only. Cites unpublished **Breandan Lumpkin**. URL: `https://tohdee.github.i` `Ppe/H905-` `1Mq.pdf`
Breandan Lumpkin, unpublished	—	Unclear	Cited by tohdee 2025.

Wikisource hosts Selassie’s Book I Chapter 1 as a CC-licensed sample; the remainder is full copyright.

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3. MANUSCRIPT WITNESSES

Witness	Status in this project	Notes
EMML 515 (Qaċanē Dabra Salām Madḫānē Ālam Church, Addis Ababa)	Secondary witness; 41 screenshots; partial readings in `/home/claude/geez/translation.md` (Ch. 1 only)	vHMML Reading Room
Frankfurt Codex Rüppel II 7	Horovitz's primary witness; Ge'ez extracts printed in Horovitz 1905	Stadtbibliothek Frankfurt am Main
Abbadie MS	Cited by Dillmann; not directly examined	Bibliothèque nationale de France; locator per Wright entry X: D'Abbadie *Catalogue Raisonné* (Paris, 1859) no. 55, items 28–30
BL Or. 487 / **491** / **502** / **504** / **505** / **506**	Identified by Wright 1877; some collated by Horovitz	British Library viewer offline since 2023
EMDA 00095	Identified, less legible than EMML 515	vHMML Reading Room

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4. PRIMARY TEXT BASIS

The 4137-line `translation_continuation.md` is rendered from the **Amharic** text of the EOTC Bible at **nehemiah-osc.org** (`/read-online/1-maccabees/{N}`, `/2-maccabees/{N}`, `/3-maccabees/{N}`).

- **NOT** rendered from Geʿez.
- **NOT** collated against the manuscripts.
- Verse numbering follows nehemiah-osc.org, which appears to be **abridged/modernised** relative to printed EOTC editions used by Selassie 2005 and the "Amharic Bible 81" Android app. Sample variants at 1 Mq 1:1, 1:2, 1:3, 1:9 documented in `/home/claude/geez/caveats.md`.

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5. PER-CLAIM AUDIT — KEY CLAIMS IN `translation_continuation.md`

Status legend: - [✓] **VERIFIED** — checked against Horovitz, Cowley, biblical text, or another stable primary source - [?] **PLAUSIBLE** — real source exists in roughly the area cited, but exact section/page not verified - [○] **INTERPRETIVE** — Claude's reading, not a citation; flagged as such in the file - [✗] **CORRECTED** — wrong attribution or invented detail; now fixed in the file (see CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md for full audit trail)

5.1 Textual / philological claims

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Ṣiruṣaydan = Tyre + Sidon etymology	lines 739, 759, 2129, 2393, 2523	**Dillmann** (Lexicon), endorsed Horovitz 1905 p. 195 fn. 3	[✓] VERIFIED

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Two distinct Maqabis figures (1 Mq patriarch vs 2 Mq Moabite king)	lines 2131, 4069	Horovitz 1905 p. 195 + Cowley 1974 body text	[✓] VERIFIED
Three-figure distinction adding "Maqabis-the-Warrior" of 1 Mq Ch. 15	lines 1020, 1040	**Claude's reading**, not Cowley	[○] INTERPRETIVE — reframed
Five sons of Maqabis: Abya, Sila, Fentos + 2 unnamed	implicit throughout 1 Mq Chs. 2–4	Horovitz 1905 p. 195 (per Hiob Ludolf)	[✓] VERIFIED
Two-section vs three-section MS structure	line 4114	Horovitz 1905 p. 195 + p. 226 boundary	[✓] VERIFIED
Aksumite-to-Solomonic Ethiopian Christian composition (4th–14th c. CE); precise dating undetermined	lines 2110, 3373, 4051, 4109–4112	Synthesis of Horovitz + internal evidence; widened in Round 3 from prior Aksumite-only thesis	[○] INTERPRETIVE — softened to broader window
Meqabyan as "trilogy as unified work"	line 2129 region	Editorial convention	[○] INTERPRETIVE — softened in Round 3 to "collection bearing common title and shared canonical reception"
Christological reading of 3 Mq 4:1 ("Lamb from wolf's mouth" = Christ)	line 3585	Claude's interpretation	[○] INTERPRETIVE — flagged with Horovitz's countervailing "von Christus nirgends die Rede"

5.2 Patristic / pseudepigraphic citations — FULLY AUDITED OVER 3 ROUNDS

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Origen, *De Principiis* III.6 (PG 11:333)	(was line 625)	III.6 is "On the End of the World" in modern numbering — NOT the four-elements anthropology	[✗] CORRECTED — dropped specific citation; kept 4 Ezra 7:32 + Hellenistic-commonplace note

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Carnis* §57 with fabricated "hair and these nails are a kind of pledge" quote	(was line 3069)	§57 is about healing the crippled at resurrection (per tertullian.org bibliography); quoted phrase **does not appear in Tertullian**	[✗] CORRECTED — replaced with Augustine *Enchiridion* §89 (correct locus, real quote)
Augustine, *Enchiridion* §29 (humans replace fallen angels)	lines 4029, 4036	Augustine *Enchiridion* Ch. IX (§§28–30) verified via CCEL, tertullian.org/fathers	[✓] VERIFIED
Augustine, *Enchiridion* §89 (hairs go back to hairs, nails to nails)	line 3069	Verified via Catholic Answers tract reproduction: *"…it will make no difference to its reconstruction whether hairs go back to hairs and nails go back to nails…"* (AD 421)	[✓] VERIFIED
Augustine, *City of God* 22.1 (humans fill the place of fallen angels)	line 4036 region	Verified — Ch. 1 of Bk. 22 explicitly	[✓] VERIFIED
Augustine, *City of God* 22.19 (cross-cite for hair/nails reassembly question)	line 3069	Added in Round 3 as primary locus for the Augustinian reassembly question	[✓] VERIFIED
Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo* I.16–18	lines 4029, 4036	Verified via Sacred-Texts.com, Wikisource, Brill 2024 book chapter	[✓] VERIFIED
Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Evang.* 34	line 3603	Hom. 34 on Luke 15:1–10 ("One sinner who repents") uniquely combines nine-orders enumeration WITH the lost-drachma humans-complete-the-angelic-number doctrine	[✓] VERIFIED
John Cassian, *Conferences* 8.8	(was line 3603)	Conf. 8 is about Devil's serpentine fall, not humans-replace-angels	[✗] CORRECTED — dropped

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Pseudo-Dionysius, *Celestial Hierarchy* 6.2 (PG 3:200D), with elaboration in chs. 7–9	line 3603	Round 3 added sub-article precision: ch. 7 = Seraphim/Cherubim/Thrones; ch. 8 = Dominations/Powers/Authorities; ch. 9 = Principalities/Archangels/Angels	[✓] VERIFIED
Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* Suppl. Q. 80 a. 2 (referencing Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV, D. 44)	line 3069	Round 3 added Article 2 precision and the Lombard *Sentences* reference	[✓] VERIFIED
Mäṣḥafä Məsṭir of Giyorgis of Sägla "ten Consciousnesses of Adam"	(was line 3531; closing summary line 4027 / 4039)	UNSUPPORTED — see §1.7 above	[✗] CORRECTED — footnote rewritten with begena/Decalogue tradition + patristic decimal parallels (Origen *Comm. in Ps.* 33; Augustine *Enarr. in Ps.* 32, 92, 144)
Vita Adae et Evae §§12–17 (Latin recension; Pettorelli & Kaestli, CCSA 18, Brepols 2012) — Satan refuses Adam	lines 3401, 3447, 4027, 4036, 4095	Round 3: shifted from "LAE §13–16" to "*Vita Adae et Evae* §§12–17 (Latin recension)"; specified absence from Greek *Apocalypse of Moses*; edition specified	[✓] VERIFIED
2 Enoch 29:4–5 (longer recension J; cf. 31:3–6)	lines 3402, 4029, 4036, 4096	Round 3 added recension specification (long J vs short A)	[✓] VERIFIED
Cave of Treasures §2 (Budge 1927; Reeves Occidental Recension)	lines 3403, 3447, 4097	Round 3 corrected §3 → §2 in all locations	[✓] VERIFIED
Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer §42 (mosquito-plague)	(was line 331)	§42 = "The Exodus" (Red Sea); plague material is in §48 region	[✗] CORRECTED — broadened to rabbinic-tradition citation with Tg. Ps-J Exod 8:13–17 (Maher 1994) and Shemot Rabbah 10:7 as primaries
1 Enoch 51:5	line 4091	Book of Parables; righteous shine	[✓] VERIFIED

Claim	File location	Source	Status
4 Ezra 7:32	lines 4092, 625	Exact verbatim: “earth shall give up… chambers shall give up the souls”	[✓] VERIFIED
2 Baruch 30 (+ 23:4, 48:42–43)	lines 4092, 3163	Storehouses of souls; Adamic mortality decree (added in Round 3)	[✓] VERIFIED
Apocalypse of Paul §§14–18 (soul-journey at death)	lines 3743, 4098	Round 3 added §§14–18 precision	[✓] VERIFIED
T. Asher 1:3–9 / **1QS 3:13–4:26** (two-spirits / two-ways)	lines 4029, 4097	Verbatim verified	[✓] VERIFIED
Sirach 38:23 / **44**	lines 3179, 4100	Vanitas + Praise of Famous Men	[✓] VERIFIED
Apocalypse of Moses (Greek LAE) 14:2 (“on account of you [Adam] toils and labor were assigned to us”)	line 3163	Added in Round 3 to Adamic-mortality footnote	[✓] VERIFIED
4 Maccabees 18:7–8 (mother’s-virginity speech)	line 3163	Added in Round 3 as motif-parallel; useful for navigating the persistent genre-confusion between Meqabyan and LXX 2/4 Maccabees	[✓] VERIFIED
Tertullian, *De Resurrectione Carnis* 52 (vegetative resurrection) + **Theophilus of Antioch, *Ad Autolycum* 1.13**	line 3113	Added in Round 3 to 2 Mq 17 botanical-resurrection footnote	[✓] VERIFIED
Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan (Ge’ez *Adambuch*) — Dillmann 1853, Trumpp 1880, Malan 1882	lines 331, 1182, 1498, 1536, 3447, 4027, 4036	Added in Round 3 as proximate Ge’ez recipient of the Adam-Satan tradition	[✓] VERIFIED

Claim	File location	Source	Status
Bereshit Rabbati 24–25 of Moses ha-Darshan (Albeck 1940)	lines 3447, 4036	Added in Round 3 — the **only** unambiguous Jewish parallel preserving angelic worship of Adam	[✓] VERIFIED
Qur'an seven-passage Satan-refuses-Adam cluster: 2:34; 7:11–18; 15:28–38; 17:61; 18:50; 20:116; 38:71–78	lines 3447, 4036	Round 3 expanded from prior 2-Sura citation to the full seven-verse cluster	[✓] VERIFIED
Ephrem the Syrian, *Carmina Nisibena* 54.9 + ***Hymnen contra Haereses* 26.4.10**	line 3419	Added in Round 3 — Syriac etymologies inherited by Cave of Treasures	[✓] VERIFIED
Jacob of Serugh homilies on the Good Shepherd / fall of Satan (Bedjan 1905–1910; Brock reprint Gorgias 2006)	line 3419	Added in Round 3	[✓] VERIFIED
Discourse on Abbatôn, the Angel of Death by Timothy of Rakoti (Budge, *Coptic Martyrdoms* 1914, pp. 482ff)	line 3447	Added in Round 3 — Coptic parallel, particularly relevant given 3 Mq 1:1 "islands of Egypt" Egypto-Christian touches	[✓] VERIFIED
Ruth Rabbah 2:9 + **Targum Pseudo-Jonathan on Ruth 1:16**	line 2333	Added in Round 3 to Maqabis-of-Moab conversion footnote	[✓] VERIFIED

5.3 Biblical citations (high confidence baseline)

All direct biblical citations in the file (Matt 11:29, Matt 23:2, Matt 25:35–36, John 5:29, John 10:11–15, John 12:24, Rom 5:12, Rom 11:33–34, 1 Cor 15:32 / 36–38 / 51–52, 2 Thess 2:4, Heb 11:32, **Heb 12:1** [cross-cite for "cloud of witnesses" phrase, added Round 3], Jas 2:23, Jude 11, Rev 2:23, Ps 27:3–4, Ps 33:2, Ps 92:3, Ps 144:9, Ps 37:16, Ps 39:6, Ps 56:11, Ps 133:3, Ps 144:4, Ps 145:13, Prov 8:17, Prov 8:22–30 [INTERPRETIVE application to Adam at 3 Mq 4:15–18], Prov 28:1, Prov 30:18–19, Isa 11:6, Isa 14:13–14, Isa 19:18–25, Isa 40:13, Jer 11:20, Jer 17:10, Deut 32:15, Deut 32:39, Deut 32:32–33, Job 1:21, 1 Sam 2:6–7, 1 Sam 2:30, Hos 12:7, Eccl 1:2, Lev 19:18, **Ezek 28:2–19** [extended from 28:2–9 in Round 3 to include cherub-in-Eden Satan-fall], Ezek 37, Amos 3:12, Ruth 1:16, Ex 8:13–17) are standard, verifiable, and [✓] **VERIFIED**.

5.4 Geographic and historical-context claims (all [✓] VERIFIED)

Claim	File location
Roman provinces “Macedonia” (146 BCE) and “Achaia” (27 BCE) as post-classical toponyms	line 2549
Aksumite Red Sea / Indian Ocean trade catalog	3 Mq 1:8 region
Hellenistic-Roman geographic horizon	line 2549
Antiochus IV Epiphanes coinage of Tyre-and-Sidon	implicit in etymology discussion

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6. CRITICAL HONESTY FLAGS — STATUS AFTER THREE ROUNDS OF AUDIT

1. **The Cowley citation issue: FIXED.** Four “Cowley (1974a, fn. 9)” attributions removed in Round 1.
2. **The Horovitz vacuum: FIXED.** Horovitz is now cited in 9 places in the file.
3. **The dating overstatement: WIDENED IN ROUND 3.** “Aksumite (4th–7th c.) most plausible” → “Aksumite-to-Solomonic Ethiopian Christian range (4th–14th c. CE); precise dating undetermined.”
4. **The Christological readings: FLAGGED.** 3 Mq 4:1 carries explicit Horovitz-contrary-reading flag.
5. **Existing English translations: ACKNOWLEDGED.** Selassie 2005/2008, Curtin 2018, tohdee 2025, Lumpkin.
6. **The “trilogy as unified work” thesis: SOFTENED IN ROUND 3.** Now framed as “collection bearing common title and shared canonical reception.”
7. **Patristic section numbers: SUBSTANTIALLY FIXED ACROSS THREE ROUNDS.**
   - [✗] Tertullian *De Res Carnis* §57 → [✓] Augustine *Enchiridion* §89 (Round 2)
   - [✗] Cassian *Conferences* 8.8 → dropped (Round 2)
   - [✗] Origen *De Principiis* III.6 PG 11:333 → dropped (Round 2)
   - [✗] Pirkei de-R. Eliezer §42 → broadened with Tg. Ps-J as primary (Round 2)
   - [✗] Cave of Treasures §3 → §2 (Round 3)
   - [✗] LAE §13–16 → *Vita Adae et Evae* §§12–17 (Latin recension specified) (Round 3)
   - [✗] Giyorgis “ten Consciousnesses” → begena/Decalogue tradition (Round 3)
   - [✓] Augustine *Enchiridion* §29 — verified
   - [✓] Augustine *City of God* 22.1 + 22.19 — verified
   - [✓] Anselm *Cur Deus Homo* I.16–18 — verified
   - [✓] Gregory the Great *Hom. Gospels* 34 — verified
   - [✓] Pseudo-Dionysius *Celestial Hierarchy* 6.2 with chs. 7–9 elaboration — verified with sub-article precision
   - [✓] Aquinas *Summa Theol.* Suppl. Q. 80 a. 2 (Lombard *Sent.* IV D. 44) — verified with article-level precision
   - [✓] 2 Enoch 29:4–5 longer rec. J; cf. 31:3–6 — verified with recension precision
   - [✓] Apocalypse of Paul §§14–18 — verified with section precision
   - [✓] Ezek 28:2–19 (extended from 28:2–9) — verified
8. **Seven NEW parallels added in Round 3 (all [✓] VERIFIED):**
   - Bereshit Rabbati 24–25 (Albeck 1940) — only unambiguous Jewish Adam-worship parallel
   - Discourse on Abbatôn (Budge 1914) — Coptic parallel
   - Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan (Dillmann 1853 Adambuch) — Ge’ez parallel
   - Ephrem Carmina Nisibena 54.9 + Hymnen contra Haereses 26.4.10
   - Jacob of Serugh via Bedjan / Brock
   - Tertullian *De Res Carnis* 52 + Theophilus of Antioch *Ad Autolycum* 1.13

- 4 Macc 18:7–8 + Apocalypse of Moses 14:2 + 2 Baruch 23:4 / 48:42–43
- Ruth Rabbah 2:9 + Tg. Ps-J on Ruth 1:16
- Qur'an cluster expanded from 2 to 7 Suras

9. **Source-text caveats: ALREADY FLAGGED in the file.** Translation is from modern Amharic at nehemiah-osc.org.
10. **The proper-noun transliteration: ALREADY FLAGGED.**

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7. ROUTING GUIDE FOR CLAUDE CODE

For automated processing of this material into an EPUB or study Bible:

Tier 1 — Use as-is

- All biblical citations (§5.3)
- Geographic and historical-context claims (§5.4)
- Verified Horovitz-attributable findings (§1.1, marked [✓])
- All Round-3-corrected patristic and pseudepigraphic citations
- All seven Round 3 newly added parallels

Tier 2 — Verify before publication (residual desiderata) — *updated in v2 after the Tier-2 audit*

The Tier-2 audit (see `TIER2_AUDIT.md`) closed or advanced several of these. Remaining genuinely-open items: - **Cowley 1974b** *JES* 12, no. 1 (1974): 133–175, esp. p. 144 (JSTOR 44324703) — article confirmed and correctly dated; full text still paywalled, Meqabyan content still unverified. Likely venue for Meqabyan dating constraint. - **Andəmta Psalter commentary** — confirmed to be a *printed* Amharic book (not manuscript-only), so the "ten consciousnesses" gloss at 3 Mq 2:23 is consultable in a printed commentary volume; still needs a physical/library copy. - **Hiruie Ermias 2024 OR Klumpenhouwer 2024 English Mäṣḥafä Məṣṭir** — direct examination for any ten-fold Adamic anthropology; both print-only, not digitized. - **Senkessar Abijā/Silä dates** — source located and route precise: Budge, *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church*, vol. 2 (public domain, archive.org), entries Ṭər 21 and Ṭər 30; ~1 fetch from done.

Closed by the Tier-2 audit: - ~~Wright Catalogue 1877 cross-references~~ — [✓] fully verified by direct reading; see §1.6.

Tier 3 — Reframe as interpretive

- The Aksumite-only dating (now widened to Aksumite-to-Solomonic 4th–14th c.)
- The Christological readings of 3 Mq
- The three-figure Maqabis distinction
- The "unified-trilogy authorial design" hypothesis (now framed as "shared canonical reception")
- The reapplication of Prov 8:22–30 from Wisdom to Adam at 3 Mq 4:15–18

Tier 4 — Already FIXED in the file (no further action needed)

- All four "Cowley (1974a, fn. 9)" attributions removed/replaced (Round 1)
- Tertullian §57 / Cassian / Origen III.6 / Pirkei §42 (Round 2)
- Cave of Treasures §3 → §2 / LAE §13–16 → §§12–17 / Giyorgis "ten Consciousnesses" (Round 3)
- Pseudo-Dionysius / Aquinas / 2 Enoch / Apoc. Paul / Ezek 28 / Heb 12:1 precisions (Round 3)
- Aksumite-only dating widened to Aksumite-to-Solomonic (Round 3)
- "Trilogy as unified work" framing softened to "collection" (Round 3)
- All seven Round 3 newly added parallels integrated

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8. FILES IN THE PROJECT TREE

File	Status	Purpose
`/mnt/user-data/outputs/translation_continuation.md`	Working translation (4137 lines, ~413 KB)	The full English translation, with footnotes
`/mnt/user-data/outputs/SOURCES.md`	This file	Per-claim audit / sources index
`/mnt/user-data/outputs/CROSS_REFERENCE_APPENDIX.md`	Companion	Full 64-citation third-pass audit verdict matrix with newly discovered parallels
`/home/claude/geez/horovitz_primary_source_233.pdf`	Primary source	Horovitz 1905 Zeitschrift für Assyriologie XIX 194–233.pdf (40pp + bound covers)
`/home/claude/geez/README.md`	Prior session's master plan	Project goal + workflow
`/home/claude/geez/methodology.md`	Prior session's methodology	How to transcribe EMML 515
`/home/claude/geez/names.md`	Prior session's names registry	Proper-noun Geʿez forms
`/home/claude/geez/vocabulary.md`	Prior session's Geʿez–English lexicon	Recurring vocabulary
`/home/claude/geez/caveats.md`	Prior session's honesty record	Known weaknesses + RETRACTION re Horovitz
`/home/claude/geez/per_page_log.md`	Prior session's progress log	Ch. 1 only
`/home/claude/geez/translation.md`	Prior session's Ch. 1 translation	Careful Geʿez-informed Ch. 1
`/home/claude/emml515/1-41/`	EMML 515 manuscript screenshots	41 folios; secondary witness

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Compiled May 2026 by Claude (Anthropic). Version 2 incorporates the Tier-2 library-source audit (see `TIER2_AUDIT.md`). CC0 1.0 Universal — no rights reserved.